

## University of Colorado, Boulder CU Scholar

---

Undergraduate Honors Theses

Honors Program


---

Spring 2016

# Europe's New Generation of Nationalists: Understanding the Appeal of Contemporary Radical Nationalism for European Youth

Madeliene Ingino  
[madeliene.ingino@colorado.edu](mailto:madeliene.ingino@colorado.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [http://scholar.colorado.edu/honr\\_theses](http://scholar.colorado.edu/honr_theses)

 Part of the [Eastern European Studies Commons](#), [Other International and Area Studies Commons](#), [Other Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#), [Scandinavian Studies Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Ingino, Madeliene, "Europe's New Generation of Nationalists: Understanding the Appeal of Contemporary Radical Nationalism for European Youth" (2016). *Undergraduate Honors Theses*. Paper 1217.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Honors Program at CU Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Undergraduate Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of CU Scholar. For more information, please contact [cuscholaradmin@colorado.edu](mailto:cuscholaradmin@colorado.edu).

**Europe's New Generation of Nationalists:  
Understanding the Appeal of Contemporary Radical Nationalism for European Youth**

**By:**

**Madeliene Ingino**

**Program in International Affairs, University of Colorado at Boulder**

**Defended April 7, 2016**

**Thesis Advisor:**

**Dr. Benjamin Teitelbaum, Dept. of Germanic and Slavic Languages and Literature, Nordic  
Studies**

**Defense Committee:**

**Dr. Vicki Hunter, Dept. of International Affairs**

**Dr. Thomas Zeiler, Dept. of History and Program in International Affairs**

<u>Table of Contents</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
A. Abstract	2
B. Chapter 1: Introduction	3
a. Methodology	5
C. Chapter 2: Framework for Understanding Nationalism	5
D. Chapter 3: History and Background	7
a. Section I: Belgium	7
b. Section II: Hungary	9
c. Section III: Sweden	12
E. Chapter 4: Interviewees: The Young Faces of Nationalism in Europe	16
a. Tom Van Grieken	18
b. Ágnes Pánczél	22
c. Péter Völgyi	26
d. Szabolcs Szalay	31
e. Gustav Kasselstrand	35
f. William Hahne	41
g. Jessica Ohlson	46
F. Chapter 5: Synthesis	49
G. Chapter 6: Conclusion	55
H. Bibliography	57

## Abstract

Through personal interviews with young nationalists from Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden, I seek to understand what motivates young people to identify with far-right nationalism in Europe. By providing an individual-level investigation of what motivates young Europeans' nationalist ideology, I deliver a humanized, nuanced, and multidimensional understanding of nationalist views for young people in Europe. This analysis demonstrates that nationalism in Europe is not the same across different countries. With my sample set of Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden, representing Western, Central, and Northern Europe respectively, it is clear that nationalism varies according to the context within which it exists. In addition to exposing the differences, the research reveals similarities across the interview subjects including feelings of patriotism and self-proclaimed national love, an anti-establishment and rebellious nature, aversion to outsider groups, a call for traditionalism and resistance to change, and rhetoric which frames national identity against a domestic 'other' group.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Nationalism is not a new phenomenon in Europe. Throughout history, nationalist ideologies have developed in ways reflecting the context of their time. Fueled by complex issues that vary by country, nationalist political parties and social movements exist across the continent and continue to grow.

My study focuses on far-right nationalist youth in Europe and what motivates their nationalism. I chose youth because they signify the future of nationalism in their own countries. What motivates radical nationalism for youth in Europe? To begin answering this question, I interviewed nationalist youth from European countries across different geographic areas of the continent from Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden. My investigation focused on what led these youth to identify with nationalism and a look into their core beliefs on issues such as minority groups, immigration, multiculturalism, Islam, and the European Union. The interviews deliver individual-level accounts from young nationalists in Europe as to what drives their views. This investigation also illuminates the similarities and differences among them. Through personal interviews with young European nationalists, I provide a humanized account of differences in nationalist views across a sample set of European countries while simultaneously identifying similarities among them. Through the sample cases of Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden, the interviews reveal that nationalism does not look the same in one context to the next.

Existing literature seeks to explain why Europeans are drawn to nationalist political parties. The question of why someone would identify with nationalism is nothing new. The literature utilized measurable variables such as income level, level of education, and exposure to cultural or racial diversity according to where the individual lives. The standard conclusion of

such research that nationalists are low- to middle-income, uneducated, and limited in their exposure to cultural or racial diversity. This type of narrative dismisses those who are not working-class, have achieved high levels of education, and grew up in diverse, multicultural areas. I am not rejecting findings that nationalists may have low levels of education and come from working-class backgrounds; rather, I seek to discuss a multidimensional understanding of young nationalists in Europe.

Within Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden, I concentrated on the political parties Vlaams Belang, Jobbik, and Sverigedemokraterna (the Sweden Democrats). Flanders and Hungary have other nationalist parties,<sup>1</sup> but I chose Vlaams Belang and Jobbik to study because they sit further outside the mainstream and are considered more radical. I interviewed young members from each of these parties and aimed to find common themes among them. It is no surprise that the reasons a Hungarian supports Jobbik differ from the reasons a Swede supports the comparatively moderate Sweden Democrats.

My research and analysis draw from numerous sources, including academic books and scholarly articles, news media, online media platforms such as political websites and social media, official statements, opinion polls, personal visits to European Union institutions and officials, and personal interviews. One notable drawback with this research is that it was almost entirely done in English. All interviews were conducted in English. English is the native language of none of the interviewees, though they are all fluent English-speakers. All print source material was in English or French. Some print source materials were in Dutch, Hungarian, or Swedish, which I translated into English.

---

<sup>1</sup> In Belgium, there are two Flemish nationalist parties: Vlaams Belang and Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie. In Hungary, there are also two nationalist parties: Jobbik and Fidesz.

## Methodology

Personal interviews comprise my primary resource in this paper. Interview subjects range from the age 20 to 29; therefore, my concept of youth in this paper encompasses young adults in their twenties. All European, the interviewees represent different countries including Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden. With my primary thesis advisor's help, I contacted interviewees from Sweden. I contacted interviewees from Belgium and Hungary by reaching out to them via email and setting up interviews based on the positive responses I received. Prior to this work, I had no personal connection with any of the interview subjects. The interview subjects are leaders or rank and file members of nationalist political parties.

## Chapter 2: Framework for Understanding Nationalism

### Different forms of nationalism

This chapter lays out my concept of nationalism and the framework I applied to help structure my understanding of the nationalist ideologies in the parties analyzed and individuals interviewed. Nationalism often elicits a negative response from people, conjuring images associated with Nazism. The individuals I interviewed all self-identified as nationalists, and I therefore describe them as nationalist in this paper. My concept of nationalism derives from Dr. Benjamin Teitelbaum, who defines nationalists as those who “claim to fight against immigration and globalization in order to purify their chosen national people.”<sup>2</sup>

In my work I utilized a framework that branches nationalist ideologies into three main categories: cultural nationalism, ethnic nationalism, and identitarianism. This framework helps distinguish the differences between the political parties and individuals analyzed. It also

---

<sup>2</sup> Page 1, Teitelbaum, (forthcoming) *Lions of the North: Sounds of the New Nordic Radical Nationalism*.

supplements understanding on what the parties and individuals I describe *are* and what they are *not*.

Disregarding race or ethnicity, cultural nationalism seeks to preserve a nation's culture. Cultural nationalists detest outside cultures influencing or dominating their own national culture. For parties like the Sweden Democrats or Vlaams Belang, whose policies can be described as cultural nationalist, it is possible for anyone to migrate to Sweden or Belgium as long as they completely adopt the Swedish or Belgian culture and abandon the culture they come from.

Ethnic nationalism describes the ambition of nationalist individuals and movements to preserve a specific ethnic group. Unlike cultural nationalism, ethnic nationalism argues it is impossible for a migrant to Sweden, for example, to become Swedish if they do not possess Swedish ethnicity. Cultural nationalism is more open to outsiders than ethnic nationalism because, in theory, anyone can adopt a culture, but not anyone can adopt a race or ethnicity, which is inherited.

The third branch of nationalism is Identitarianism.<sup>3</sup> Teitelbaum explains that “identitarian forces emphasize both pan-European and local ethnic identities over those of the nation.” Identitarianism emphasizes a “right to difference” of ethnic groups in a postmodern world. Identitarians also believe in a pluriversum, or a world possessing a plurality of cultures and ethnicities. Certain identitarian ideas and the concept of a pluriversum are apparent in the responses of some of the interviewees.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Identitarianism defined by the French New Right: “The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century marks both the end of modern times and the beginning of a postmodernity characterized by a series of new themes: preoccupation with ecology, concern for the quality of life, the role of “tribes” and of “networks,” revival of communities, the politics of group identities, multiplication of intra- and supra-state conflicts, the return of social violence, the decline of established religions, growing opposition to social elitism, etc. . . . Modernity will not be transcended by returning to the past, but by means of certain premodern values in a decisively postmodern dimension.” *Manifesto of the French New Right in Year 2000*.

<sup>4</sup> See Teitelbaum, page 18; *Manifesto of the French New Right in Year 2000* by Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier; and, *Against the Modern World* by Mark Sedgwick.



The forms of nationalism I detailed are not intended to pigeon-hole the actors discussed in this paper into narrow, specific categories. Many of the actors here may overlap with two, or all three, of the nationalist forms I described. There is not a clear cut definition for understanding nationalists and the differences in their ideologies. Rather, this framework clarifies understanding and provides tools to see the differences and similarities across the actors I analyze.

## Chapter 3: History and Background

### Section I: Belgium

Belgium comprises three different linguistic groups – Flemish, French, and German – and three main regions: Flanders, Wallonia, and the Brussels-Capital Region nestled within Flanders. Flanders, excluding its French-speaking capital Brussels, is linguistically Flemish, or Dutch. Encompassing the northern half of Belgium, Flanders hosts two key nationalist political parties: Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (N-VA) and Vlaams Belang. In this paper, I focus on Vlaams Belang and its youth wing, Vlaams Belang Jongeren.

The Walloon region is Belgium's French-speaking southern half. Wallonia is economically weaker than Flanders and boasts a history of extensive immigration. Although Wallonia does not have a major Walloon-nationalist political party like Flanders, it does have Francophone-nationalist movements, including Nation and its youth organization Jeune Nation.

### From Vlaams Blok to Vlaams Belang: A Short History

Situated in Flanders, one of Vlaams Belang's primary goals is to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium and become its own sovereign nation.<sup>5</sup> Vlaams Belang's (VB; literally means *Flemish Interest*) ideology is rooted in cultural nationalism because it emphasizes the existence of a Flemish national identity growing from a common Flemish heritage, tradition, religion, and history.<sup>6</sup> Not only does VB focus on the existence of this Flemish identity, but it urges the preservation of the Flemish identity and culture. In line with its cultural nationalist ideology, Flanders must therefore become its own sovereign nation-state, independent from the rest of Belgium. In addition to Flemish separatism and preserving Flemish culture, Vlaams Belang's rhetoric consists of anti-immigration, anti-Islamic, and Eurosceptic sentiment.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, VB experienced what former VB Chairman Gerolf Annemans describes as a 'Golden Age' in its popularity. During this time, the party was known as Vlaams Blok. On 9 November 2004, the Belgian Court of Cassation ruled that Vlaams Blok violated the country's law against racism. This court decision forced Vlaams Blok to formally disband and recreate itself as a less radical party with a program that would be more acceptable to Belgian laws. Shortly after the court decision, Vlaams Belang was launched on 14 November 2004 by members of Vlaams Blok; the new Vlaams Belang was now rebranded as a Flemish nationalist party, seeking to distance itself from the radical and racist labels of its predecessor.<sup>7</sup>

The 2004 Court ruling came at a time when Vlaams Blok was at the peak of its popularity in Belgium. In regional elections earlier that year, Vlaams Blok was the largest party in Flanders, scoring 24.2% of the vote in the Flemish Parliamentary elections and 32 seats in parliament. But,

---

<sup>5</sup> Gerolf Annemans, Interview, 17 July 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Loobuyck & Jacobs, page 30.

<sup>7</sup> "From Vlaams Blok to Vlaams Belang: The Belgian Far-Right Renames Itself" by Jan Erk; also see pages 92 & 96 of Moufahim et al.

VB has only declined in votes since then. In the most recent regional elections in 2014, they earned 5.98% of the vote and six seats in the Flemish Parliament. VB's fall in regional voter popularity is also reflected in European Parliament elections, where they now have just one representative: Gerolf Annemans. To combat the declining popularity, Mr. Annemans retired from his position as Chairman after the 2014 elections to encourage a new, young, fresh face to take over and help rejuvenate the party.<sup>8</sup> This youthful leader is 29-year old Tom Van Grieken, the previous Chairman of Vlaams Belang Jongeren. While it remains to be seen whether Mr. Annemans' ambitions for Tom Van Grieken are successful in rejuvenating the party's support among young voters, VB maintains its anti-multiculturalist, Flemish independence, anti-EU, and cultural nationalist rhetoric.<sup>9</sup>

## Section II: Hungary

### Background of Jobbik: A Movement for a Better Hungary

Following the Soviet Union's dissolution, Jobbik was born in 1999 as a movement of conservative, anti-Communist, anti-Socialist Christian university students; from its outset, Jobbik was a movement of young people.<sup>10</sup> While Jobbik began by strongly supporting Fidesz and its rise to power, Fidesz' support for Jobbik became insufficient and relations between the two deteriorated after 2002. With a membership of over 1,500 members, Jobbik rebranded itself in 2003 as a party that was far more conservative, anti-communist, and anti-globalist than it had been before,<sup>11</sup> helping it stand out as a more far-right party than Fidesz.

---

<sup>8</sup> Gerolf Annemans, Interview, 17 July 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Loobuyck & Jacobs, page 38.

<sup>10</sup> Pirro page 68, and interview with Szabolcs Szalay, 25 August 2015. Jobbik at its founding was called Jobboldali Ifjusági Kozossege, or "Right-Wing Youth Association, JOBBIK."

<sup>11</sup> Pirro, pages 68-69, and personal interview with Szalay Szabolcs.

Traditionalism comprises a key aspect of Jobbik's ideology and agenda, with party members emphasizing traditional Christian values and ideals of western esotericism.<sup>12</sup> Jobbik's President Gábor Vona explains in an interview that "I personally follow traditionalist principles, in other words, I believe that Europe should get back to its own roots and rearrange its relationship with other traditional cultures that only exist in the East now."<sup>13</sup> Regarding Vona's mention of traditional cultures that only exist in the East, he alludes to his belief that Hungary should shift its focus toward Eastern powers such as Russia, China, and Turkey and away from Western powers such as the European Union and the United States. Vona describes Hungary's unique positioning as it is affected by both Western and Eastern influence: "The Hungarian nation has Turkic origin, and was formed by the Russian steppes into what it is now, then wandered to the West to establish a state in the Carpathian basin. Our Western integration has been going on for centuries, but we have never forgotten our Eastern origin and they could never uproot this concept from our minds." Vona's rhetoric illustrates the juxtaposition of Western and Eastern influence in Hungary, and it is an aspect figuring prominently into Jobbik's ideas.

Building upon its idea of traditionalism, Jobbik rejects modernity and representatives of modernity. On Jobbik's official website, President Vona shares that Jobbik "defies global capitalism and three of its key representatives, the USA, the EU and Israel," and further rejects the Renaissance and Enlightenment. Jobbik criticizes all of these forces as instruments of the age of modernity.

In respect to its traditionalist agenda, Jobbik sees value in the Islamic world. Gábor Vona refers to the Islamic world as the "only one culture left which seeks to preserve its traditions,"

---

<sup>12</sup> See Pirro page 72 and "Vona Gábor about the Islam" from Jobbik's official website.

<sup>13</sup> See "Vona Gábor, Euro-Atlanticism must be replaced by Eurasianism" from Jobbik's official website.

and even says “if Islam fails the lights will completely go out.”<sup>14</sup> While Vona praises Islam’s traditionalism, he does not mean Hungary should be a Muslim country. Ágnes Pánczél, a young member of Jobbik IT, references Vona’s statements on Islam and adds clarity to the discussion.

[T]he fact that these Muslim people are very religious, I am not talking about the extremists, just normal religious people; they really keep their traditions, it is what we think is a good example. It does not mean we think we should convert to Islam. But [Muslims have] this active religious life and traditional life, which is a good example, and we think we should do the same with the traditional European Christian culture.<sup>15</sup>

Ágnes Pánczél’s comments demonstrate Jobbik’s emphasis on the role of European Christian tradition and culture that in Hungarian society. Jobbik does not envision a Muslim Hungary, but rather a Hungary whose culture and traditions are entwined with Christianity as Islam is entwined with the culture of Islamic countries.

Beginning in 2006, Jobbik gained ground in popularity. Jobbik’s voter support continues to increase and today it is the third-largest party in Hungary with over 20% of the vote. Recent polls suggest Jobbik may even become the second-largest party in the country after Fidesz. Speaking to its appeal to younger generations, Jobbik even won the title “far right party for the Facebook generation” because of its number of Facebook “Likes” relative to other mainstream Hungarian parties including Fidesz.<sup>16</sup> Work by Pitsinis takes a socio-psychological perspective to Jobbik’s success, arguing that Jobbik effectively “coordinat[es] its socio-psychological campaign and mobiliz[es] a series of social grievances for its political benefit.” Jobbik’s ability to embed its traditional beliefs into Hungarian political culture elevated Jobbik to become a more popular and legitimate political force.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See “Vona Gábor about the Islam” from Jobbik’s official website.

<sup>15</sup> Interview, Ágnes Pánczél, 6 November 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Pirro, page 70, citing the *EUObserver*. As of 10 January 2016, Jobbik has 307,686 ‘likes’ on Facebook compared to the ruling party Fidesz with 196,535 ‘likes.’

<sup>17</sup> Pitsinis, pages 272, 277.

### Section III: Sweden

#### The Sweden Democrats: The Emergence of Sweden's Radical Nationalist Party

Born in 1988 as a political party with some ties to neo-Nazism and skinheads, Sverigedemokraterna, or the Sweden Democrats (SD), has since distanced itself from this past image and emerged as a democratically legitimate and powerful political party in Sweden. Sverigedemokraterna, or the Sweden Democrats (SD), grew at a slow yet steady rate through the 1990s. It was not until the 2006 national elections that SD began attracting media attention after it achieved 2.93% of the national vote and secured representation in about half of Swedish municipalities. The 2006 elections and SD's emergence onto the political scene coincided with the leftist Social Democrats being ousted from power in the Riksdag and a coalition of center-right parties taking government control. Despite SD's success in 2006, there is a 4% threshold to gain representation into the Riksdag. Four years later, SD surpassed this threshold by earning 5.7% of the vote in the 2010 national elections and entered the Riksdag for the first time. SD has only continued to gain popularity, achieving 12.9% of the national vote in 2014 and 49 seats in the Riksdag. This performance set SD as the third-largest party in the country; today, SD fluctuates in polls between being the largest to third-largest party.<sup>18</sup> While SD only grows in popularity, all other Swedish political parties have refused to cooperate with SD, including center-right parties. Swedish media is also sharply critical of SD and its policies, and it remains controversial to support SD.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Current surveys show SD is the most popular in Sweden: "Yougov: Nu är SD Sveriges största parti," Metro.se.

<sup>19</sup> See Hellström, Nilsson, and Stoltz *Nationalism vs. Nationalism: The Challenge of the Sweden Democrats in the Swedish Public Debate* (186-205); Hellström, Nilsson, Faculty of Culture and Society, and Malmö University 'We are the Good Guys': *Ideological Positioning of the Nationalist Party Sverigedemokraterna in Contemporary Swedish Politics* (55-76); and, Teitelbaum, "Come Hear our Merry Song": Shifts in the Sound of Contemporary Swedish Radical Nationalism (8).

A narrative of cultural nationalism now dominates the Sweden Democrats' policies and views. In the political arena today, SD "has switched its focus from ethnicity to an emphasis on culture and impermeable cultural differences," indicating SD's desire to preserve traditional Swedish culture and "Swedishness."<sup>20</sup> With SD's focus on Swedish culture rather than more limited definitions such as race or ethnicity, it is therefore possible for any person to become Swedish in their view. When Swedishness is only attached to Swedish culture, any immigrant to Sweden of any background could become Swedish. Indeed, the migrant must regard him/herself as Swedish, and others must regard the migrant as Swedish.

Hellström, Nilsson, and Stoltz argue that in addition to emphasis on Swedish culture, SD positions itself as the one true alternative for Swedes dissatisfied with the political elite. Following what is labeled as 'populist,' SD asserts that it is the party for the ordinary people, and criticizes the political elite for not listening to the needs of the common Swedish people.<sup>21</sup> Further, SD establishes itself as a party focused on democratic legitimacy and dialogue that promotes freedom of speech; these are characteristics that, according to SD, the other established parties in Sweden lack.

While anyone could theoretically become Swedish, the party maintains a strong anti-immigration and anti-refugee line. SD's leadership, including Chairman Jimmie Åkesson and SD's Riksdag group leader Mattias Karlsson, warn that mass immigration to Sweden threaten the country's generous welfare state. Strain on the welfare state correlates with declining social trust in Swedish communities. As social trust declines, Swedes become more individualistic and less

---

<sup>20</sup> Hellström, Nilsson, Faculty of Culture and Society, and Malmö University, page 61.

<sup>21</sup> Hellström, Nilsson, and Stoltz, page 190. Here they are citing C. Ruzza and S. Fella, *Re-Inventing the Italian Right: Populism, Post-Fascism and Territorial Identity*, London, Routledge, 2009; Paul Taggart, *Populism*, Buckingham, Open University Press, 2000; and M. Canovan, 'Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy', *Political Studies*, 47 (1999), pp. 2-16.

collectivist. Previously, no other mainstream parties in Sweden talked about issues associated with mass immigration or an open-door refugee policy. The Sweden Democrats were the only party that discussed these topics openly. As the only party to open up discussion about mass immigration, multiculturalism, and refugee issues, SD further built its image as the one true alternative for Swedes who were tired of the elitist, mainstream party options.

Strong anti-European Union sentiment, a desire to drastically reduce immigration to Sweden, cultural nationalist belief, and even the effects of in-grouping vs. out-grouping are also factors explaining why Swedish youth identify with right-wing politics. In Scheepers, Werts, and Lubbers' paper, they find growing Euroscepticism post-2002 has been a major factor leading Europeans to vote for the radical right.<sup>22</sup> In Sweden's next general election post-2002, the 2006 general elections, the Sweden Democrats experienced their first notable increase in voter support.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Evans (2000) found "ethnocentric attitudes [are] strong determinants of anti-EU stances,"<sup>24</sup> suggesting that ideas of ethnocentricity also play a role in anti-EU views.

Maureen A. Eger looks at Sweden as a case study, considering the idea of in-groups vs. out-groups and how a population's homogeneity affects the population's support for the welfare state. Eger's tests find that in Swedish communities of high homogeneity, there is greater support for a generous welfare state. In Swedish communities with higher heterogeneity, support for a generous welfare state decreases; in other words, communities with a larger number of immigrants had an adverse effect on individual Swedes' support for a generous welfare state. Eger attributes this trend to the premise of in-groups and out-groups, suggesting that Swedes support a generous welfare state because they have the sense they are "all in the same boat"

---

<sup>22</sup> Scheepers, Werts, and Lubbers, pages 187-188. 2002 is the year the Euro went into circulation in the European Union, representing deeper EU integration and less sovereignty to the member states.

<sup>23</sup> Rydgren, page 58.

<sup>24</sup> Scheepers, Werts, and Lubbers, page 188.



together when the population is more homogeneous.<sup>25</sup> The in-grouping and potential preference for a homogeneous community that Eger alludes to may lead some Swedes to support parties like the Sweden Democrats that seek to reduce immigration.

Research by Oskarson and Demker argues that the weakening appeal of Sweden's ruling party, Socialdemokraterna/the Social Democrats, to working-class Swedes has created a vacuum in which more working-class Swedes are drawn to the Sweden Democrats. The decline of the Social Democrats is linked to working-class Swedes viewing that the welfare state is in crisis. Former Social Democrat minister Morgan Johansson reaffirmed this perception about the welfare state, stating that "many voters with a working-class background switched their allegiance to the SD because they thought that the Social Democrats had not sufficiently compensated for the erosion of welfare institutions."<sup>26</sup> In addition to the Social Democrats' declining approval, the right-left political divide in Sweden is becoming less polarized. An example of Sweden's political climate becoming less polarized can be seen in the point that it is less controversial now to be a supporter of the Sweden Democrats than it was ten years ago. Now, it is also more acceptable to point out problems and threats to the welfare state, and more parties than just the Sweden Democrats are beginning to accept policies to cut down on immigration. The combination of the Social Democrats' declining appeal and the political climate becoming less polarized result in an environment encouraging more working-class Swedes to support the Sweden Democrats.<sup>27</sup>

Multitudes of external factors may explain the Sweden Democrats' rise in support among voters, but key points appealing to Swedes include SD's positions on immigration, refugees, and

---

<sup>25</sup> Eger, 210-213; 208.

<sup>26</sup> Hellström, Nilsson, and Stoltz, 197; *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 October 2006.

<sup>27</sup> Oskarson and Demker, 645-6.

Islam. The Sweden Democrats have positioned themselves as an anti-Islamic party. While individuals within SD may vary slightly on their attitudes about Islam, their rhetoric on Islam is overall negative. Many, but not all, of the refugees pouring into Sweden from countries such as Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, and Syria are Muslim; however, Muslim migration into Sweden is not a new trend. As Kasturi Sen points out in his writing, Muslim migrants began arriving in Sweden during the 1970s and 80s as both workers and political refugees. These migrants originate from a range of countries such as Bosnia, Lebanon, and Ethiopia; they belong to varying ethnic groups, different theological branches of Islam, and speak different languages. Sweden is a secular country where religion is not considered in policy-making. Sen criticizes secularism because Swedish policy-making overlooks problems faced by Muslim minorities. Because the individual challenges experienced by Muslim minorities are not considered relevant, “cultural, ethnic and religious groups have no rights in Swedish legislation.”<sup>28</sup>

## Chapter 4: The Young Faces of Radical Nationalism in Europe

This chapter introduces and discusses the interviewees from Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden. In the first section I introduce Tom Van Grieken from Vlaams Belang. While I was unsuccessful in arranging an interview with a current member of Vlaams Belang Jongeren (Vlaams Belang Youth), VB’s youth wing, Tom was previously a member of the youth wing and served as its chairman before his election to President of VB. Though he is not a current member of Vlaams Belang Jongeren, he is a perfect example of a young Flemish nationalist with an influential voice in Vlaams Belang and Flemish politics. I then transition to a brief section on

---

<sup>28</sup> Sen, 221.

Jeune Nation, a youth Identitarian movement in Wallonia. I did not interview anyone from Jeune Nation, but I use this space to introduce the movement because its rhetoric is still relevant here.

Following Belgium, I introduce three young Hungarian members of Jobbik's youth wing, Jobbik Ifjúsági Tagozat. Finally, I transition to Sweden and look at the Sweden Democrats' former youth wing, Sverigedemokratisk Ungdom (the Sweden Democrats Youth, or SDU). The Sweden Democrats Youth underwent internal turmoil in its relationship with the mother party throughout my period of study.<sup>29</sup> This turmoil led SD to cut its ties with SDU and create a new youth league, Ungsvenskarna, or the Young Swedes. Since September 2015, SD and SDU severed formal ties, but SDU continues to exist independently. In this study, I focused on SDU rather than Ungsvenskarna. Former or current leaders of SDU were interviewed, each of whom were expelled from SD in 2015: Gustav Kasselstrand, William Hahne, and Jessica Ohlson. None of them are members any longer of SD, and none were members of Ungsvenskarna. But, they are each still active in politics, have strong nationalist ideologies, and are engaged with SDU.

---

<sup>29</sup> Personal interviews with Gustav Kasselstrand and Henrik Vinge; Articles "Nya SDU-ledaren blir frontfigur mot Åkesson," "Konflikten trappas upp - SDU anmäler SD till Datainspektionen" by *Aftonbladet*.

## Section I: Flanders



Figure 1. Tom Van Grieken

A key figure in the Flemish nationalist movement is Tom Van Grieken, Vlaams Belang's Chairman. Elected at the age of 28, Tom is the youngest-ever party chairman in Belgium.<sup>30</sup> He exudes a confident and energetic personality. In televised speeches, debates, and interviews Tom is poised, well-dressed, and speaks in a calm, unassuming manner. I enjoyed talking to Tom in our two interviews over Skype, as he was friendly, humorous, and enthusiastic. Tom's charismatic personality is coupled with openness and blatant honesty; he is not afraid to speak his mind, even if some find his words offensive.

While it may be easy to believe that Vlaams Belang supporters are most likely to come from areas with little cultural diversity, Tom explained that he grew up in a multicultural area of Antwerp. Reflecting on when he was 15 years old, Tom described his early search for his identity and initial interest in political issues.

I looked for my identity. I noticed that I speak Dutch, and a lot of my classmates didn't. A lot of my friends didn't, and still don't. And that is fine. . . If they can have their culture, then I want to have my culture. . . I speak Dutch, I feel Flemish. I define myself as Flemish. Defining yourself as Flemish is already a political statement. But back then I was not politically active. . . . I had my Flemish identity, and I was looking for political issues, political debates. And I must say the propaganda back then was quite severe. There were

---

<sup>30</sup> « Tom Van Grieken désigné nouveau président du Vlaams Belang. »

<http://www.lesoir.be/684441/article/actualite/fil-info/fil-info-belgique/2014-10-19/tom-van-grieken-designe-nouveau-president-du-vlaams-belang>.

only pro's for multiculturalism. . . Although, I could see there were riots in my streets, where I was at times the only native Flemish person left.<sup>31</sup>

Tom's experience with cultural diversity as a youth allowed him to see, as he put, both "the advantages and the disadvantages of multiculturalism." Despite certain disadvantages, it remains socially unacceptable in Belgium to point out problems with multiculturalism. His decision to join the anti-multicultural, nationalist Vlaams Belang was a controversial move. Not only was he criticized for it, but his family was as well: his father got in trouble at work for having a son involved in nationalist politics and people stopped by his mother's flower shop to call her racist or a xenophobe for having a nationalist son. But the negative backlash did not deter Tom's political activity. He is confident in Vlaams Belang's ideas and principles, and believes in his work as part of a personal duty to Flanders and the Flemish people.

Standing for something. Standing for principles. I really like that. . . . We are not socially accepted. People refuse to shake hands with us from other parties. . . . Nobody likes us, but we don't care. And I stand for something. [The mainstream parties] all change opinions all the time. . . . But we stand for something. Which I also appreciate about the other side, extreme left-wing communists, which I hate ideologically, but they stand for something. They stand for principles.

As a young person with a strong sense of Flemish identity, Vlaams Belang was the obvious choice for Tom. Becoming politically active during the 2003 election campaign, he devoted significant time and work to the party over the years. In 2012, he became Chairman of Vlaams Belang Jongeren, VB's youth wing. Just two years later, Tom was elected Chairman of Vlaams Belang. His engagement in politics reflects his desire to make what he perceives as a positive impact on society.

When I was a small child, I always saw my dad, uncle, and grandfather arguing [about political debates]... then one day, I asked my grandfather, 'What if you are right [about these issues]? What have you ever tried to change?' And he said 'Oh what can I do, I never tried to change anything. I am just one person.' And I thought, later when I have a family,

---

<sup>31</sup> Tom Van Grieken, Interview, 24 September & 25 November 2015.

and I am a grandfather, I also want to have debates with my sons. . . I always think then, when my grandchild comes, and says ‘Grandfather, whatever you say about politics, have you ever tried to change it?’ The least that I want to say is I gave it my very best to try to change society.

Due to the current refugee crisis, refugees and Belgium’s policy toward them make up a large part of Tom’s rhetoric. Consistent with the party’s official line, Tom calls for Belgium – and Europe – to close its borders. He also calls for the refugees currently in Belgium to be sent out. However, he does not believe they should be sent back to their war-torn countries; rather, they should be sent to countries neighboring those they fled. If an asylum-seeker comes to Europe, they must apply for asylum in the first EU country of entry, as spelled out in the Dublin Regulation. For Belgium, on the western coast of the European continent, the asylum-seekers arriving there already passed through several EU countries. Following the Dublin Regulation, it does not make sense for asylum-seekers to apply for asylum in a country such as Belgium when they already passed through other EU countries.

Despite the hard line on refugees, Tom’s rhetoric softens on women, children, or individuals facing persecution. In these instances, he is more open to Belgium accepting refugees. According to the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR), a significant majority of the refugees arriving in Europe are young men.<sup>32</sup> “What kind of man are you if you leave your family, your wife, your children, in a war conflict to come here? Then you are not a refugee. You are a coward, if you leave your wife and children in a warzone. Then I have no compassion for them,” says Tom.<sup>33</sup> The fact that the large majority of refugees in Europe are young men only adds fire to his tough stance on accepting asylum-seekers.

---

<sup>32</sup> According to September 2015 statistics by the UNHCR, 72% of asylum-seekers coming to Europe were male; the number fluctuates but males remain the majority.

<sup>33</sup> Tom Van Grieken, Interview, 25 November 2015.

## Section II: Wallonia

Wallonia does not have nationalist political parties like Flanders, but it does have Francophone-nationalist movements. An example of this can be seen in the actions of the youth movement Jeune Nation, including their well-organized hard bass flash mobs in Wallonia. For example, in Charleroi in April 2012 they organized a flash mob in which participants wore pig masks, waved the Belgian flag, and danced throughout Charleroi to hard bass music in black hoodies. The pig masks are intended as an anti-Islamic message. The flash mobbers brandish signs reading “On est chez nous,” literally meaning “You are in our home.” The flash mob in Charleroi, along with others, was filmed and posted to Youtube.com, where I viewed it. In the video, they write their message in English: “This is our country!”<sup>34</sup>



<sup>34</sup> Hardbass Charleroi flash mob, 15 April 2012: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R8ebHjsAS\\_k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R8ebHjsAS_k); <http://noisey.vice.com/blog/russias-hard-bass-scene-is-even-more-ridiculous-than-the-harlem-shake>; <http://www.jeune-nation.com/actualite/actu-internationale/23164-la-belgique-appelle-au-secours-des-policiers-marocains-pour-soccuper-de-ses-islamistes-et-racailles-neobelges.html>

### Section III: Hungary



Figure 2. Ágnes Pánczél

Ágnes Pánczél is a 21-year old university student and member of Jobbik IT. She lives in a town near Budapest and studies French and Norwegian languages. Our interview was done over Skype and I enjoyed talking to her; Ágnes is a friendly, talkative, and thoughtful young woman. She was open in sharing her stories and eager to talk about a range of topics. Although her camera was turned off during the Skype interview, her voice was full of enthusiasm. In Jobbik IT, she is a member of the foreign policy committee and writes articles for Jobbik on foreign policy. She also translates many articles every week from French into Hungarian for Jobbik MPs. While Ágnes has been a member of Jobbik for just over one year, she has had growing political interest since she was 14 years old. Her parents, while they are not members of any political party, actively follow political issues and debates in Hungary. Ágnes described how she listened to the many political discussions her parents had, and noted that her parents had an important role in helping develop her political views:<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Ágnes Pánczél, Interview, 6 November 2015.



I think my father had a very big influence on me. His political views are very similar to mine. He was the biggest influence and he had a lot of arguments with my mother because my mother is a leftist. But I think my political preference started with realizing that I always loved history and as I was studying history, I realized that there are a lot of things we Hungarians can be proud of. That was what led me to this conservative nationalist subculture. There are also bands and writers who are connected to these kinds of movements. So yes, I became interested in this. . . I never was really a leftist. I talked a lot about it with my mother, and with my father also. I listened to them. I always found that my father is more right. I always thought that he was right. But when I was little, I think that their conversations only affected me in an indirect way. Back then, I didn't think about it and I didn't understand it all. But I think these early conversations had an effect on me. When I became interested in politics, I started reading about rightists in general and everything that's connected to the right: conservatism, nationalism in general, and also Christian values.

When I asked Ágnes what kinds of things her father was “more right” about compared to her mother, she responded:

My father always said, we must protect our Hungarian roots and Hungarian culture and we must fight for ourselves. My mother argued against this because she thought this was against others. Maybe it is typically leftist rhetoric to say this. In Hungary for example, I don't know if [it is also like this] in other countries, but if you say you want to protect your culture then you are against anyone else. When my father explained to her it doesn't mean you hate anyone, I don't hate our border countries or anyone else, I thought ‘yes, he is right.’ And he won this debate. [The debates were] always starting from some actual political decision.

While her parents were certainly influential initially, Ágnes further developed her views and political activity by her own initiative. As Ágnes mentions, studying Hungarian history helped her find strong pride in Hungary and in being Hungarian. This sense of pride was influential in shaping her nationalist views. While she was forming a nationalist identity, she had not yet become a member of any political party; this decision eventually came about when she was 20 years old:

The fact that I speak some languages and I like talking to people and meeting new people in general led me to politics because Jobbik and especially Jobbik Youth was an environment where I could do these things which I like. So maybe that is why. I also had some friends who were already members of the local Jobbik in my hometown. That is how I started to think about joining. We were just talking about it, and I ask them what they do, what they did, and I decided I was interested and I wanted to do something. . . Among

youth, Jobbik is becoming really, really popular. It is not shocking now if I share with anyone that I sympathize with Jobbik and am also a member. It is accepted nowadays.

As mentioned in the previous section, Jobbik certainly has considerable success in appealing to younger generations of Hungarians. Ágnes mentions later in the interview that Jobbik's advertising methods are "very good, very creative" and "catch attention," speaking to Jobbik's marketing and social media success relative to other Hungarian political parties.<sup>36</sup>

Later in the interview, I asked Ágnes about the ongoing refugee crisis and the mass numbers of refugees arriving on the European continent every day, with most of them coming from countries such as Syria, Eritrea, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Hungary has come under fire internationally for its tough stance on refugees and the construction of a wall along the Hungarian border, which was built in reaction to the flood of refugees coming to the country. Here, I asked Ágnes if she opposes Hungary accepting a large number of refugees.

In this great number, yes. We can accept really a very small number of refugees with keeping stability and balance in our country. It's a difficult question because these people, in terms of social conditions, it can be very different [here compared to where they are coming from]. I think less educated people tend to be more aggressive toward the receiving country, or it is more difficult for them to accept our rules and culture in general. I think not only for Hungary but for all of Europe, this huge number of refugees is unacceptable and this could lead to a tragedy. I hope not, but it could be dangerous. If we accept a lot of immigrants, and they just don't accept our laws and want to live according to the Islamic law, that is completely opposed to Hungary because the country has its own laws and everyone who resides in Hungary has to obey these laws. So yes, it can be a threat to all the European countries I think. If they accept our rules and they live in peace, it's not [a threat], but there are a lot of concepts and it's hard to explain these many things to this many people.

Ágnes opposes Hungary and Europe as a whole accepting massive influxes of refugees, but her rhetoric is not angry or aggressive. Her concerns about the refugee crisis, as she chose to present them to me, stem from a fear that the mass numbers of refugees arriving in Hungary and other

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

European countries come from such starkly different cultures and backgrounds that it will lead to an array of conflicts and problems.

While the refugee topic is an important one in Hungary and for Jobbik, perhaps an even more controversial issue is Jobbik's views on Hungary's Roma population. Here Ágnes talks about some of the problems she sees with the Roma population in Hungary.

I don't experience problems personally [with Gypsies], but there are a lot of places in Hungary where there are a lot of problems. Jobbik was the party which started talking about Gypsy criminals in Hungary. This expression also existed during the Socialist regime in Hungary. But after that, it was abandoned because it wasn't politically correct to talk about Gypsy criminals. . . It is a fact that they cause a lot of problems and a lot of conflicts. We were the first to even dare talk about these problems because these are problems which must be faced and must be solved. There are positive examples. As I told you I know some Gypsy people, heard of them or know them by face or name, sometimes maybe talk to them, and they are good examples who can integrate themselves in our society. Unfortunately the most of them can't [integrate]. It's very connected to unemployment. During communism, or socialism, in Hungary, all of the citizens must have had jobs. If they didn't have a job, they were locked up. So while most of these jobs weren't real jobs in the way that sometimes they didn't do anything, very little tasks or it was very boring for them, they all had a job, all of the people including the Gypsies. Most of them were employed for example in agriculture so they did really simple jobs. They were mostly uneducated and after the system changed, these lowly educated people were the first to lose their jobs because our agriculture started to decline. As you know Gypsy people have children at a very young age and they have more children than us. There are many generations now who grew up not seeing their parents work. [Since they grow up without seeing] the example of studying properly or working properly, or looking for a job properly, it leads to problems. It is very difficult because there are a lot of generations who don't have the chance to integrate. The other parties, the leftist parties or even Fidesz, talk about Gypsy integration and giving them work and education. But I don't see the actions behind their words. They just talk about it and they emphasize that we like them and don't hate them and we are not racist and that is why we have to have them. Okay, we have to have [the Gypsies] because it is a bad situation. [Fidesz'] speeches involve being only politically correct and not seeming racist. When we [Jobbik] started expressing that yes there are problems with them and there are a lot of criminal acts and conflicts between cultures and all these kinds of things, then we are immediately considered as racists because we are not talking in a politically correct way.

Ágnes later goes on to further explain her problem with political correctness. To a certain extent, she can understand a degree of political correctness in politics; rather, her issue with the subject is when it comes to not discussing topics because of a fear of political incorrectness:

Politics has a certain language which must be respected. You can't use F-words; you have to express yourself in a more sophisticated way. But if political correct means that we don't talk about something just because it's a bit of a taboo topic, it's bad because I think politicians are there to help us and solve a country's problems and work together for their country and for their culture. If it is language that's politically correct it's okay; but, if we don't talk about something because it's politically incorrect, then it's bad.

Key themes from Ágnes include her love for Hungarian history and culture, desire to defend Hungarian culture, her fear of change and disintegration in Hungary because of the perceived threat of minority groups such as the refugee and Gypsy populations, and her frustration with mainstream political correctness. Factors such as social reasons, family influence, or Jobbik's savvy advertising played roles in developing Ágnes' political ideas and decision to join Jobbik, but they cannot be considered major features in why Ágnes Pánczél came to identify with Jobbik and nationalism.



Figure 3. Péter Völgyi

Another young Jobbik supporter is 26-year old Péter Völgyi, also of Budapest. Originally from western Hungary, Péter initially moved to Budapest to pursue a degree in international

economics.<sup>37</sup> After his studies, he began working with Jobbik, turning away opportunities to work in finance and the private sector. Currently, he is president of a local Jobbik IT branch in Budapest, situated in district 8 called Józsefváros. He also works as an assistant to a Jobbik member of the Hungarian Parliament. More reserved than Ágnes, Péter is matter-of-fact and concise. While our interview was over Skype, I found that he spoke and presented himself in a calm, relaxed manner. His responses were thoughtful and confident, and his rhetoric unaggressive.

A member of Jobbik since 2013, Péter is in fact a former supporter of Fidesz, Hungary's largest party. Both parties are described as conservative, nationalist parties, which are characteristics Péter says he identifies with as part of a love for Hungary he has always had. But, Péter cites growing corruption in Fidesz as the primary factor driving his shift to Jobbik.

Growing up, Péter spent most of his time with his grandfather, a Fidesz supporter. Although they currently align with different parties, Péter says his grandfather played the most significant role in shaping his views.

I love Hungarian food, Hungarian language, I think that people always say it is one of the most difficult languages in the world, so I am proud of this. I also like the landscape here, I think Hungary is very beautiful. I also love Hungarian people. Many people say Hungarian people are not too kind, but I don't think so.

Counter to the rhetoric that is prominent among the Belgians and Swedes I interviewed, Péter takes a different perspective on multiculturalism. He does not view it as bad policy, but he only agrees with multiculturalism in a limited dose.

I think multiculturalism can be good to a certain extent. I think that right now, we have a very low percentage of people from different cultures and nations here. So right now it is good. But, for example, I was in France, England, and Brussels, and I didn't really like the multiculturalism there that much. In Hungary, it's not too bad; I think it's good. . . It was

---

<sup>37</sup> Péter Völgyi, Interview, 8 November 2015.

funny to see, especially in Brussels, there were these historical buildings and a lot of things that reminded you of the past 200 or 300 years. But there were a lot of different people there, Asian people, African people, Muslims, and it was kind of a shock to me to see how many people live in that. I spent three days there, and it was a shock to me to see so many different people there. And their behavior was very different compared to the native population. But when I studied in university, we had the Erasmus program. There were a lot of students there from different countries like Japan or some African countries, and I liked to talk to them. I saw this nice change, that you can talk to people from different cultures, different regions; I like that. That's why I say to a certain extent multiculturalism is good.

Péter's rhetoric illustrates that multiculturalism is not a driving issue for him in Hungary. Within the context of Hungary, multiculturalism is not a negative force; in fact, it is even good. But, he points out Brussels as a bad example of too much multiculturalism. In a context outside of Hungary, such as the examples he cites including France, England, or Brussels, multicultural policies may be a more significant issue to him. Péter claims multiculturalism was bad in these places because there were "a lot of different people there," citing Asians, Africans, and Muslims whose behavior was "very different." His rhetoric indicates that multiculturalism becomes bad when there are too many people who are considered different from what is perceived as the acceptable national identity. Multiculturalism is good, according to Péter, when people from different cultures and countries can communicate and learn about each other, such as through the Erasmus exchanges he describes. His rhetoric suggests an aversion for people living in his own country who are considered too different from the national context.

As a Hungarian nationalist, it is no surprise that Péter feels a strong sense of love and pride for his nation. Preserving Hungarian traditions and culture is important to Péter and to Jobbik; here, Péter discusses national traditions in relation to the influx of refugees entering Europe from countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

Hungary is a very old nation. More than thousands of years. We have a lot of traditions. In Jobbik we do a lot of things to preserve these traditions. I think that is very important for a nation to keep its traditions. In some ways, this is what creates their identity. Right now,

Islam is a very big problem for Europe and Hungary with the refugees from Iraq and Syria... But in Jobbik, I think that we support every religion in its own country. As long as they don't want to change our culture and our traditions in our homeland, we support them; but if they import their culture and tradition and language on us, that's unacceptable.

Péter's rhetoric does not demonstrate anti-Islamic sentiment, and his rhetoric on refugees takes a cautionary tone but is not negative. He does not want different religions, cultures, or traditions imposing themselves upon Hungary; but, his language does not indicate a hatred for what is foreign. For Péter, the key point is to preserve what is Hungarian within Hungary.

As Islam and refugees may not be as controversial topics for Jobbik as they are for Vlaams Belang or the Sweden Democrats, I shifted my questions to Jobbik's more controversial issues, as I did with Ágnes. Jobbik is accused and criticized for being an anti-Semitic party, with its leaders, members, and supporters generally suspected as anti-Semites.

I don't know whether anti-Semitism is a huge problem or not in Western European countries, but in Hungary and Eastern Europe, you can say that there is quite a high percentage of people who are to some extent anti-Semitic... I am not anti-Semitic. I don't judge people on their religion or country they originate from. I judge people after I know them. But I also have some thoughts about people who are from a different culture than me, but I give them the chance to prove me wrong. Anti-Semitism is not true for Jobbik because we also have a couple of people who are Jewish in our party. So I don't think we are anti-Semitic, but that is true that a lot of our supporters are anti-Semitic.

Péter denies that he is anti-Semitic, and also that Jobbik is an anti-Semitic party. Both of these points may be true, but the question still arises of why are many Jobbik supporters anti-Semites if Jobbik is not an anti-Semitic party.

The next issue to discuss was Jobbik's tough position on Hungary's Roma population. Similar to Ágnes, Péter had a lot to say about the Roma and the problems of crime and integration they present.

As for the Gypsies, we are not against them, but that is true there are a lot of problems with Gypsies in Hungary and in other countries. Other parties don't like to talk about the problems we have with Gypsies. But we have these problems, and we talk about these problems [in Jobbik], and they think that because we talk about this we hate [the Gypsies]

and want to push them out of the country, but we just want to solve the problem. In the last few years, or decades, there has been a lot of money thrown to the Gypsies to make their lives better and things like that, but this money just vanished and we don't see the results of this [investment]. There are towns, or parts of towns, where even the police don't go because they know the Gypsies are there and they are criminals. They don't want to go there because they know they can't do anything. Even if they catch them and put them in prison, they get out. The leaders of the Gypsy minorities are corrupt. I think that's a big problem.

Echoing Ágnes' rhetoric here, Péter voiced frustration with the fact that other parties do not talk about problems with the Roma. Hungary's Roma population and issues associated with them is a key talking point for Jobbik, and they are labeled anti-Roma. Péter's frustration reminisces Ágnes' discussion of political correctness issues, though he did not explicitly talk about political correctness.

Beyond issues such as the Roma and anti-Semitism, Péter brought up other points of discussion that are important to him. He reiterated Jobbik's youthful quality and mentions problems including Jobbik's education system and high home prices.

Jobbik is a very young party with a lot of young people. The MPs are also very young. We bring up a lot of topics that are important to young people. Like we want to reform the schools and universities, because I don't like the current school system that we have; I think it's old and we have to change it. We also want to encourage young people to have families... It's a huge problem in Hungary that home prices are so high that you can't make a family. We want to address that.

Péter's mention of encouraging young people to have families reminded me of a point Ágnes made in our interview about young Europeans not wanting to have children. As Péter pointed out the importance of young couples' ability to afford homes so they can have children and build a family, Ágnes also voiced her despair over Europeans not wanting to have children because of how bad the world appears today. Péter and Ágnes' rhetoric alludes to an urgency to maintain their own Hungarian population, as well as a European population. Their rhetoric also illustrates the importance they place on families and having children.





Figure 4. Szabolcs Szalay

Szabolcs Szalay was born March 24, 1989 in Miskolc, Hungary. Growing up in the city of Dunakeszi, situated in a metropolitan area of Budapest, Szabolcs was always interested in politics, though he was never a member of a party.<sup>38</sup> At the age of 12, he began reading newspapers and following political issues. After high school, Szabolcs went on to pursue bachelor's and master's degrees in international studies in Budapest. He also studied in Istanbul, Turkey for six months through an Erasmus exchange program. After completing his master's degree in 2013, Szabolcs decided to join Jobbik. Reflecting on what led him to Jobbik, Szabolcs explained that he was “born into a right-wing family. My father is a Jobbik supporter, and my mother goes between Fidesz and Jobbik.” While his family influenced his political ideas and exposed him to right-wing views, he asserted that what he read in newspaper articles and his own studies were key in shaping his views. Eventually, it was Szabolcs' feeling of Hungarian patriotism that played the strongest role in leading him to join Jobbik.

---

<sup>38</sup> Szabolcs Szalay, Interview, 25 August 2015.

In September 2013 he joined Jobbik and “was immediately elected to president of [Jobbik IT’s] local youth branch,”<sup>39</sup> quickly becoming actively engaged in the party. Today at the age of 27, Szabolcs is an assistant to Jobbik’s Members of Parliament, worked on a foreign policy committee to assist Jobbik’s President Gábor Vona, and serves as President of Jobbik IT in Dunakeszi.

While speaking to Szabolcs over Skype, the pride he possessed in not only Hungary but also Jobbik was apparent to me. Throughout the interview, he dropped different facts about Jobbik and the youth branch, painting the success the party has achieved thus far in Hungary. For example, Szabolcs discussed Jobbik’s rising voter support and continuous growth in electoral success. He also described Jobbik’s appeal to younger generations and its superior utilization of the Internet and social media to attract those between the ages of 18 to 30. In addition to pride in Jobbik’s achievements, Szabolcs possesses personal pride in his political work.

In Jobbik, I can be useful and do things that lead to a better world. I am very proud of this. I hope that other members feel this also. In the youth branches, there is a good sense of community. It is not just about politics; people can talk about anything together. You can hang out, spend time together. We build a community within the youth; we have sports days, commemorations, concerts, community days. Jobbik has a young image. The youth and mother party have different approaches, because the youth can show they are the next generation of people in Hungary. They show that we need jobs, university opportunities, and a good future. We are the largest and most successful of the youth branches in Hungary.

Szabolcs speaks to Jobbik’s role in creating a community full of activities that young members of Jobbik can participate in and feel engaged in the party through this community. While he spoke about the role of the youth branch, he also described his personal pride. In Szabolcs’ mind, there is purpose and meaning in the work he is doing now because it will lead to a better world in the future.

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

Regarding Islam and the Eastern world, Szabolcs discussed a perspective that reminded me of the words of Gábor Vona.

The anti-Islamic message is growing in Western Europe. Now, I am Catholic, and religion is very important for me and other people. It is bad that West European parties say they are anti-Islam. Really, they are anti-immigrant: it is not about Islam. We must have a good relationship with the Muslim world. Roots of Hungary are in the East, and Turkey, a Muslim country, is a friendly nation for Hungary. I went to Turkey because of my interest in the Balkans. Turkey is an influential country, and I have a good opinion of it. For the past 25 years, Hungary's foreign policy has always been toward Euro-Atlanticism with no interest in the East. This has caused Hungary huge problems with its relationship with the East and our economy and market. Hungary is in Central Europe; we must care about both the West and the East. We are a bridge between two regions. This could give us an advantage in Eastern politics.

Of all the interviewees, Szabolcs uses the most favorable rhetoric regarding Islam and the Islamic world. He encourages a strong relationship with Islamic countries, while not suggesting that Hungary itself should embrace Islam. Szabolcs notes that he is Catholic, and Catholicism is practiced by many members of Jobbik, including Gábor Vona. Szabolcs' mention of his own religious belief works both to separate himself from Islam while also making himself relatable to those who practice Islam. As Szabolcs and others in Hungary practice Catholicism, others practice their own religion, such as Islam, and it is important to them just as Catholicism is important to Szabolcs. Further, Eastern countries should play a more important role in Hungarian foreign policy than they currently do. The West, embodying actors such as the United States and European Union, should not dominate Hungary's attention because the East is an integral part of its identity. Szabolcs effectively describes the importance of Hungary's relationship with the Eastern and Western worlds as the "bridge" between the two.

As Szabolcs supports a shift toward the East, he criticizes the West and how little it has benefited Hungary.

People were promised things that weren't delivered upon. Jobbik used to be considered a protest party, but this is not the case now. We don't want to use disappointment of general

politics to be successful. The government promised that Hungary would rise to the living standards of the West, like Germany and Austria, but this never happened. . . Now, the cooperation of European countries is very important. Hungary has been in the EU since 2004, but there has been no positive change. It has been worse for us, not better. Hungarian society is disappointed with the changes that have been made since joining the EU. The EU may be good for some countries and some big companies, but it is not good for Hungary. The EU should be a union of free nations working together on certain issues. We are giving over a lot to be in the EU.

In Szabolcs' perspective, the West – specifically the European Union here – has exploited Hungary for its own benefit. Western actors and the Hungarian government made false promises to ordinary Hungarian people, promising a better living standard and future that never became a reality. For Szabolcs and many others, Jobbik is the one true political alternative seeking solutions to the issues Hungarian society faces. As Szabolcs mentioned earlier, he can do things through his work in Jobbik that leads to a better world and addresses the false promises made by actors such as the EU and those in power in Hungary.

Szabolcs is a confident, well-spoken, and intelligent young man, and I enjoyed talking to him. He was always impressively prompt in his email replies to me, a fact which speaks to Jobbik's reputation for its competent handling of Internet use and social media relative to other Hungarian political parties. Further, it indicates Szabolcs' professionalism and how seriously he takes his work. His passion for his party and his country is clear. Of the three Jobbik members I interviewed, Szabolcs stood out as the one who was most familiar with Jobbik's official party positions and exuded the most confidence and assertiveness about these positions. For Szabolcs, Jobbik is the one political alternative for him that best reflects what he believes. Although he mentioned that he grew up in a right-wing family sympathizing with Jobbik, he only mentioned his family's influence when I asked about it. Otherwise, he did not mention influence from his family, as other factors appeared to play a stronger role in guiding his views. While Hungarian patriotism is one theme for Szabolcs, other themes that stand out include his desire to make a

positive change in the world through political means, his appreciation for the East and its traditions, and frustration with Western powers for their exploitation of Hungary.

#### Section IV: Sweden



Figure 5. Gustav Kasselstrand

28-year old Gustav Kasselstrand is the former Chairman of Sverigedemokratisk Ungdom (SDU; the Sweden Democrats Youth) and a key figure in nationalist politics in Sweden. Gustav is charismatic and well-spoken. I first met Gustav in Stockholm in August 2015, and interviewed him again later over Skype. Since meeting him, Gustav has always been kind and friendly. Reminding me somewhat of Tom Van Grieken in his personality, Gustav is honest and speaks his mind, though this has brought him considerable criticism from Swedish mainstream media and politicians. He is a skilled politician despite his young age, and during his Chairmanship from 2011 to 2015 he helped quadruple the size of SDU throughout Sweden. However, in the spring of 2015 Gustav and several other SD members came under investigation by SD's leadership for extremism. On April 27, 2015 Gustav and six other members were expelled from the party as SD argued they had extremist ties and were not in line with SD's ideology. Gustav

continued to hold his Chairmanship of SDU until September of the same year. While he is no longer a member of SD, Gustav now attends Aalto University in Helsinki, Finland to pursue a Master's in Business Administration. In January 2016, he and a friend launched their own podcast, "Den kokta grodan," or "The boiled frog."

Born in the small, picturesque town of Valdemarsvik in Sweden, Gustav described the place of his childhood as a safe and secure place with few migrants.<sup>40</sup> The town and his life growing up were what he perceives as "very Swedish" and preserved from the effects of multiculturalism that were more apparent in large Swedish cities. Gustav's eventual political activity was somewhat unusual for his family, as his family is not heavily engaged in politics except for some occasional political conversations.

While political issues were not often discussed at home, Gustav began developing his own sense of national identity while he was a teenager in high school in the mid-2000s. He took the bus every day to school, and often listened to the Swedish band Ultima Thule during the bus ride. Still a fan of Ultima Thule, Gustav explained that he loves the band because "they only sing about Sweden and Swedish history and our culture and so on, and that made me aware that this country is worth fighting for." Its songs are not political; rather, it drives a love for the nation. Coupled with listening to Ultima Thule, Gustav began thinking about questions of Sweden and society as a whole, as well as his roots and history. Gustav's interest and pride in Swedish history was obvious when I met him in Stockholm, as he enjoyed sharing various facts about Sweden's history. At this time, the Sweden Democrats were a small and mostly anonymous political party. They held no position in the Riksdag and were mostly unmentioned by the media.

---

<sup>40</sup> Gustav Kasselstrand, Interview, 9 August & 22 November 2015.

But, Gustav began hearing about them through the Internet, and found that they discussed topics no one else dared touch.

The Sweden Democrats talked about questions that no one else spoke about. The Sweden Democrats spoke about nationalism, Sweden, immigration problems, and these are issues you never heard any debate about in the mid-2000s. So I started reading [about them] on websites, and I started thinking about these questions when I went to high school and I got a real sense of my national identity when I went to high school.

Gustav reflected that it was around 2004 when he started following the Sweden Democrats. It wasn't until 2006 that he decided to join the party as a member, coinciding with the time that he moved to Sweden's second-largest city Göteborg. There, Gustav studied economics at the University of Göteborg's business school. Gustav noted that "joining the Sweden Democrats in 2006 was quite controversial actually, because they never were written about in the media. And if they were written about in the media, it was that they were xenophobes or something like that. So for me to join the party was quite a big step actually; but, I felt I had to do it, and I didn't care what anyone would think."

After joining SD in 2006, Gustav began with simply "handing out leaflets and helping out on a campaign basis" in Göteborg. He did not have ambitions to become a leader in SD or SDU, or to create a political career. At the time, his plan was to pursue a career in business or finance, in line with his university studies. Gustav's involvement in SD was fueled by a love for Sweden and desire to be involved and support SD on its path to entering the Riksdag. Previously, SD's goal was to achieve enough of the national vote to enter the Riksdag. This was a cause Gustav wanted to participate in.

Since Gustav did not express interest in taking over leadership positions in SD or SDU early on, I asked him what happened that led him to become such a prominent figure for the party. Gustav explained how the small size of SDU when he joined made it natural and easy to

become involved in leadership roles. In 2008, he joined SDU's national board and in 2010 was elected Vice Chairman of the youth organization. However, his term was short-lived as SDU's then-Chairman William Petzäll resigned two months later. Gustav then took over as temporary Chairman and officially assumed the role as Chairman of SDU in 2011.

It wasn't that I had some dream to become Chairman of the SDU. But as soon as I was the chairman, I decided I'm going to make something really good out of this and I am going to turn SDU into a really active youth league in Sweden. SDU didn't have any real operations at that time; we weren't really visible for people. People thought, 'Gustav will not be able to make something good out of this small organization.' The SD had had so many problems to engage good politicians in all these years, so all the good youth had always gone directly to the party [rather than staying in the youth league], and it's really difficult to do something good with a youth league that doesn't contain many members. We had maybe 1,000 members at the time; today, we have over 5,000. We had two or three districts at the time, and now we have over 20.

After becoming Chairman Gustav devoted his time and energy to SDU to build it into a large and prominent youth organization, coinciding with the electoral growth of the Sweden Democrats across the country. Gustav's commitment to building a strong and successful SDU speaks to the importance he placed in not only the youth organization and the party, but also to the importance of nationalism for him. I asked Gustav to offer insight into his nationalist feelings and what it means for him specifically.

As a nationalist, you're never satisfied; you want to learn more and more all the time. You want to understand what is happening, to know your roots, to find your identity, to ask yourself questions about the Swedish mentality and the Swedish society, why are we different from other people – and once you start asking yourself these questions, you never stop. It's almost on a philosophical level. It just becomes deeper and broader over time. As a Swedish nationalist, the first feeling you have is 'I love my country. I love Sweden, I love my home.' But then the next step is that you start digging into this: why do Swedes act in a certain way, and what things make us Swedish.

Concepts of identity, heritage, and even a certain Swedish behavior emerge from Gustav's rhetoric. But most importantly for Gustav, he claimed, is his love for Sweden. It is more than just



his home, but it also makes up his identity and forms his past. It is an identity which is not only for him, but is shared among all Swedes.

The generous number of asylum-seekers arriving in Sweden poses a threat to preserving Sweden and the Swedish identity that Gustav loves. Gustav fiercely criticizes the number of asylum-seekers accepted to the country. While Germany accepts the largest number of refugees among the European countries, Sweden accepts the greatest number per capita. According to Gustav, Sweden lacks sufficient infrastructure and resources to adequately house and provide for the asylum-seekers there. Gustav explained that asylum-seekers are present not only in large Swedish cities, but in small towns as well such as his hometown Valdemarsvik.

Many people have profited a lot because they rent out hotels and so on to the migration authority. Which meant that my hometown was changed completely in just a few months' time. Who knows if they are staying there for a few years or if they will move to a bigger city. It's showing that immigration today is not only a city problem; you really see it in the countryside now, too. It's become upside-down. Now you see it even more in the small cities, [the population density] becomes so close in the small cities! In some cities [the immigrants] have even become the majority! It changed [in Valdemarsvik] a few years ago. I come home now and again to see my family; I only see immigrants in the city. I see a few Swedes . . . but the vast majority of people I see in the town are immigrants. And this is a small town where you don't find many job opportunities, it's a one-hour drive to the nearest city. So of course these people are not getting jobs, they are living off the benefits. They are not becoming a part of society. They don't know a word of Swedish. I am sad, I am almost crying when I go home to my town and see this. It's a disaster for the town. It's a personal disaster for me to see this. My town has changed into unrecognition and no one does anything about it! It could be a Syrian town or an Afghan town, and it's a Swedish countryside town!

Gustav thus links immigration to dramatic change in his hometown. To address these alleged problems, one idea Gustav brought up was to reduce Sweden's welfare state. He believes that the welfare state will collapse in Sweden because of the number of refugees it supports. Gustav proposed connecting the welfare state to Swedish citizenship to limit the welfare services received by immigrants. Currently, non-citizens in Sweden can access welfare benefits.

You can have generous benefits but you need to have control so people are not misusing the system. . . It's always important with a welfare state to limit the access and make it temporary and not permanent. Even before mass immigration really began in Sweden too many Swedes were depending on the welfare state and they were getting too many benefits, more than benefits than they would have gained if they had a low-wage job. I am really against this as well because it locks people into the welfare state.

In addition to cutting down the welfare state, Gustav explained his plan to address the refugee crisis as it affects Sweden.

I would go the Hungarian way and basically say that we would have zero asylum-seekers getting permission to stay in Sweden. The situation is so extreme now that we cannot take in one single more immigrant. We cannot take in a thousand, a hundred; we can take in zero. So many people have come here and the situation is alarming. It's not that I don't see that some people are, to some extent, fleeing from poverty, fleeing from political harassment, and so on. Some people are, and some people are coming here for the welfare state – economic immigrants. Swedes are becoming a minority in their own country. Malmö already has a Swedish minority. It will take just 10 or 15 years until Swedes are a minority in the state as a whole. I don't care about the purpose people are coming to Sweden. We cannot take any more people whatsoever. We cannot accept the people who are already here who have applied for asylum. That would mean the end of the welfare state. We have to send them back to either the first country they entered in Europe as they should have, or, we send them back to Syria, a refugee camp. They shouldn't have applied for asylum in Sweden anyway. According to the Dublin rules you have to apply for asylum in the first country you visit in Europe. So it's impossible that Sweden would be the first country you visit in Europe! I would have zero immigration. The only immigration I would have in Sweden is high-quality working immigration where we need them on the labor market. Labor immigration in highly competitive jobs, advanced jobs. That would be useful immigration for Sweden. . . You don't see many problems with European immigration here, or Western immigration. It's not that I'm totally obsessed with everyone being Swedish, but generally, European and Western immigration works. That kind of immigration is completely different than the immigration we are having from the third world.

Gustav's rhetoric illustrates his tough, critical stance against refugees and asylum-seekers coming into Europe. He can be generally described as anti-immigrant, but I find that his nuance of accepting European and Western immigration does not make him completely anti-immigrant. Rather, Gustav seems to have issue with migrants in Sweden who come from cultures and backgrounds that bear considerable difference from what may be familiar in Sweden. But, Gustav's rhetoric reflects his dissatisfaction with the current system in Sweden. He describes

himself as anti-establishment, taking pride in being rebellious against the current system. Consistent with his rebellious nature, he would reverse the open-door refugee system and growing multiculturalism Sweden has boasted. For Gustav, the country must be rid of all its refugees and asylum-seekers.

In Gustav's personal journey to politics and nationalism, which he describes as his "awakening," themes I observed include his love and sense of duty for Sweden; anti-establishment and rebellious nature, coupled with dissatisfaction with society; his early appreciation for the band Ultima Thule and Swedish history; and, desire to preserve what he perceives is "Swedish."



Figure 6. William Hahne

William Hahne served as Vice Chairman of SDU from 2011 to 2015. A native of Stockholm, 23-year old William now lives in Uppsala and studies Economics at Uppsala University. Prior to studying at Uppsala, William was a paratrooper in the Swedish Army. He continues today to serve in the Army, returning for a few weeks at a time during the year. After talking to William over Skype, I found he was friendly, charming, and thoughtful, and not the angry, hot-headed young man many newspaper articles have made him out to be. William is

confident in himself and in his convictions, even if his convictions are not popular with the Swedish mainstream. Prior to joining the Sweden Democrats at age 17, William began thinking about topics such as culture and diversity at a young age.<sup>41</sup>

Maybe the abstract political feelings I had all my life started to grow when I was quite young, when I lived in Indonesia in Jakarta for two years when I was seven and eight-years old. I went to an international school and they promoted our national identity. There were culture days when you were supposed to share about your home country and dress in folk costumes and bring food from your home country. There's probably no better time to feel as Swedish as when you are abroad, I would say. The school I was in, there were 70-80 nationalities, so there were people from all around the world. That made me very interested in different cultures and made me want to preserve different cultures in peoples, so that in the future the world would consist of a pluralism, of different peoples and cultures in the world.

His experience in Jakarta introduced him to a starkly different world than what he experienced in Sweden, and also to the many different cultures comprising the world. A key point here is William's mention of plurality of cultures. This means that William does not believe Swedish culture should dominate the world, or that any one culture should dominate over the others. He believes in a pluriversum,<sup>42</sup> or a world in which all cultures are free to exist but that they should be kept to the native area they come from. In other words, Sweden is for Swedish culture; within Sweden, the Swedish culture must not be overrun by other cultures from around the world.

William's love for Sweden, frustration with society, and growing political interest led him to the Sweden Democrats. When he joined SD at age 17, the party was the only political alternative which matched his views and addressed issues that were important to him including problems with mass immigration and multiculturalism.

---

<sup>41</sup> William Hahne, Interview, 25 October 2015 & 24 January 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Note that William did not specifically say "pluriversum." A pluriversum is a world favoring a right to difference and celebrating global diversity, according to Alexander Dugin's *The Fourth Political Theory*, page 194.

I felt this strong love and pride for my country. It hurt me very much to see the Swedish society falling apart. Since it was clear to me why the society was falling apart, since we had this mass immigration, it was natural to do what I could to stop this madness. The problem started 40 years ago. The mass immigration started 40 years ago. So I've grown up in a multicultural society, I've grown up in the problems of mass immigration. It's not new for anyone. But I know how Sweden was a couple decades ago and I know how it is to grow up in the multicultural society. So it's easy to see what has made society this way. Now the immigration has escalated each and every year. The Swedish society will collapse in a couple years if nothing drastic happens.

To address why multiculturalism and mass immigration are bad policies for Sweden, William turns to an explanation rooted in economics and social trust.

The Swedish society has a very big welfare state; we have one of the highest standards of living in the world. Earlier, the society had a very high standard. To have a high standard, you must have a high tax. So, Sweden has a very high tax. Everything is fine as long as the people feel a common identity with one another. When you feel that the tax money goes to a good thing, good people you identify with that also contribute to society, then it's no problem for people to pay a high tax. But now it's thousands of people coming every year who don't contribute to society or to the welfare state. So Swedes pay high taxes which go to social welfare for immigrants. The thing that's happening now is you're dismantling the social welfare state. The problem is that people don't identify with each other any longer; [migrants] come here, they don't learn Swedish, they don't adapt to Swedish society, they don't contribute – it's tearing apart society and dismantling the welfare state. The social trust is falling apart as well. The Swedish society is developing like the American society: very segregated, very individualistic, everybody is on their own. But before, we were a collectivist society where everyone took care of each other. If you're supposed to have a strong welfare state, then it's impossible with multiculturalism. To have a strong welfare state, to have high taxes, you must have this community feeling and sense of identity with one another. For me, as someone who wants to preserve how the Swedish society always has been, it's obviously a huge problem.

William's argument echoes Maureen Eger's findings that Swedes' support for the welfare state and sense of social trust decline in Swedish communities that are more heterogeneous.<sup>43</sup> To William, a large welfare state is incompatible with multiculturalism. William argues that the rise of multiculturalism in Sweden threatens the country's generous welfare state. His frustration with migrants that do not adapt or fully integrate in Sweden is also apparent here. Migrants' inability to fully integrate in Swedish society speaks to the argument of declining social trust in

---

<sup>43</sup> Eger, 208-213.

communities; migrants and native Swedes do not feel a common identity with one another.

Social trust deteriorates, as does welfare state support. In Sweden's current situation, William supports a "cutting down" of the welfare state. He says that "In my dream society I think we should have a strong welfare state," but the effects of mass immigration in Sweden today necessitate a reduction of the welfare state.

I think that in today's heterogeneous society, since we have so many immigrants or people with heritage from abroad, we have a really heterogeneous society. Since we have a very heterogeneous society, it's impossible in the long run to have a strong welfare state, because a strong welfare state demands that you have a good identity between the citizens and you share common values and you can trust your common citizens. To have a strong welfare state you need a homogeneous society. Homogeneous in culture, in values, everything. Since Sweden has such a huge minority of immigrants, I think the welfare state is impossible as it is today. Now hard-working Swedes are paying for non-working immigrants, and that's not sustainable in the long run.

To address the immigration problems affecting Sweden, I asked William what steps he would take to address the immigration and refugee crisis to the extent that it affects Sweden.

I would change the immigration policies quite drastically. I actually don't see why Sweden should have any asylum-seekers at all. I think we should stop the asylum-seeker immigration completely, zero people. And instead we should help people abroad, people who are in the refugee camps in the Middle East and other areas. If you want to help people, then you can help so many more people for the same amount of money if they stay in the place they are coming from. Giving a person who is coming here to Sweden a home, food, social welfare, and everything, it's so expensive, thousands of crowns. But giving a child in Africa, the Middle East, or Asia clean water and food and medicine, you can do it for much less. You can help so many more people if you do it directly in the Third World. But immigration to Sweden, when it comes to asylum-seekers, I would say zero. Just stop them at the border.

In addition to stopping all new asylum-seekers wishing to enter Sweden, he adds that he would also send out the refugees who are currently in Sweden.

I would not keep any in Sweden. I don't see the point. If you have a mindset that you can help so many more people if you keep them in the Third World, why would you keep any asylum-seekers? Then you are dooming maybe ten other people on the other side of the world that didn't get those resources. If you want to help people, you want to help as many as you can with the money that you can give.

William's views on the effects of mass immigration and multiculturalism tearing apart society are not shared by many Swedes. But to William, most Swedes do not realize how current policies are ruining the Sweden they have always known.

The people don't understand that they are destroying the wonderful society that we have. We have the best country in the world, the best society in the world, we have the highest living standards. For thousands of years there are Swedes living in Sweden, and organically the Swedish society has grown in the past 13,000 years to become what it was up until 50 years ago. Now in a few decades, we have completely torn apart everything that has grown organically for 13,000 years and it took 50 years to tear it apart and destroy it forever. That is obviously frustrating. The people can see these extreme radical changes Sweden is taking part in now. We are changing our demographics enormously. It's insane how we have changed that in the last 50 years. So yeah, it is quite frustrating; the people don't see it, they don't understand it, they don't want to see, they don't want to understand. They just go with the flow. When I lived in Indonesia, I gained some perspective. In Indonesia, it's a very poor country. You could see the poverty every day. The people had it very tough, and I understood that you can't take these things that you have in Sweden for granted, because they are not granted almost everywhere else in the world. But people don't understand it because they have had it so good here for so long.

Beyond the policies of mass immigration and multiculturalism, William shares another frustration he has with Swedish society, one which may enable Sweden's mass immigration and multiculturalism.

The large majority of people in general are sheep who just go with the flow. People are very consensus-oriented; nobody wants to be outside the consensus idea or thinking. Most of the people, they just don't care enough to make their own view, to make their own stance, to do what they think is right, to care about society or about politics; they just go with the flow. 'Oh, Sweden Democrats are racist, we will not vote for them. I will do what I have always done without thinking about it.' After the Second World War, all of Europe has had these guilty feelings and we have been indoctrinated from a young age that we should feel guilt for what happened in the Second World War. From the establishment, they think that everybody should be good people and open up their hearts and take on refugees, and if you don't, you are a bad person. And no one wants to be a bad person. So we take more and more people and society falls apart.

Despite criticism, William remains confident in his ideas and views, refusing to "go with the flow." Swedes' behavior of going with the flow was a criticism echoed by Gustav. William

and Gustav argue that Swedes tend to follow mainstream behavior and agree with the mainstream's consensus of acceptable ideas and views.



Figure 7. Jessica Ohlson

Another Swede who can be described as comfortable going against the flow is 25-year old Jessica Ohlson. A law graduate from Uppsala University and now working at a law firm in Nyköping, Jessica is more reserved than her Swedish counterparts Gustav and William. She is concise and matter-of-fact, sharing her views in a blunt and unaggressive manner. Growing up at home, Jessica's parents often talked about politics.<sup>44</sup> Her mother is not a member of any political party, and her father is a Sweden Democrat, though not actively engaged politically. Her father's conservative political views opened the discussions at home to think about political issues from a conservative perspective.

We always talked a lot about politics at home, especially with my dad. So it was all the discussions around the dinner table that made me very interested in politics initially. And I don't really know what exactly it was that made me join SD and SDU, but of course it was about the migration policy. That's the reason everyone joins SD and SDU. That was one of the things we were talking a lot about at home. And the changes in the migration

---

<sup>44</sup> Jessica Ohlson, Interview, 28 September 2015, 17 & 20 February 2016.



policy from when my dad was young to nowadays. So it probably was the problem that nobody else talked about. And none of my classmates talked about it either.

Reminded of Ágnes Pánczél and her experience growing up with her parents and having political discussions during dinner, I asked Jessica about the political issues that her dad discussed that influenced her.

It was especially how he compared how it was when he grew up to how it is now. When he was 10, 11, 12 years old, he and his friends could walk through Stockholm in the middle of the night and no one ever thought anything would happen to them. There's a big difference now. You could leave your bike anywhere and it was always going to be there when you came back. It was a lot of these small things. And we considered how things have changed as he grew up. And we think that [these changes] were connected with the immigrants, of course.

Jessica's early conversations with her dad echo the Sweden Democrats' rhetoric that things were better in Sweden in an earlier time. Noting her dad's role influencing her views early on, Jessica said she was certain of her political opinion from an early age. During Sweden's 2006 national elections, she voted for the Sweden Democrats in a school election at the age of 16.

Jessica eventually took her political interest further and joined the Sweden Democrats in 2008, though she was not actively involved. Prior to 2012, she spent most of her time riding horses. Once she began spending less time working with horses, she had extra time at her disposal and started attending SDU meetings in Uppsala in September 2012. At that time, SDU in Uppsala was small with only a few members. This small size made it easy and natural to take on many responsibilities and leadership roles in SDU. By early 2013, Jessica was a board member of SDU Uppsala. She continued to become more involved over time, working in the Swedish Riksdag for SD and serving on the board of SDU at the national level where she worked closely with Gustav and William. Jessica joined at a time when the current refugee crisis affecting Europe was only escalating and a major financial crisis rocked the EU. When

discussing why she joined SD and why people are drawn to SD, her rhetoric hearkens to frustration with mass immigration to Sweden and the country's open-door refugee policy.

If we talk about refugees, of course it is because people want to help [the refugees]. And [Swedes] feel we can help [the refugees] most if they come here. But it is better to put the money there where they already are, so they don't have to move across the whole of Europe. But that's one of the biggest reasons I think when we talk about the refugees. But when we talk about other immigrants, there is a picture in Sweden where a lot of people think it is positive in Sweden to have a lot of immigrants. But no one has shown economically that it is positive. But still people think it is and they think [immigrants] create jobs and opportunities. We say it is the opposite, that [immigration] is not positive for the society.

To address the refugee crisis, Jessica explains that Sweden cannot accept such large numbers of refugees for economic reasons.

I still think we need to put money where it's the most effective, and that is to put the money in the surrounding countries from where the refugees come from. This is because most of the people can't move out of the country they've grown up in, or the surrounding countries, so that's where we need to put the [foreign aid] that we can afford. But we also have to realize Sweden is a very small country and we can't do as much as we want to do. We have problems here, too. We have a lot of old people that don't have the life they deserve, so we need to put money there. We need to put money to schools to care for our children. So I really think we should put the money where it's the most effective, rather than to take a few people here to Sweden. Since 2008, it's not just a few [migrants], there's a lot of [migrants] who are in Sweden. So it's a problem right now that we want to have as many [migrants] as possible, and a lot of people are coming here because they know they get help when they come to Sweden. And in the meantime, we want to put more money in the surrounding countries, and the United Nations, and other help organizations. So now we put a lot of money in many places. And while it works for now, at the end of the year there will not be that much money left, I think.

Jessica argues that mass immigration is not only problematic to Sweden for economic reasons, but also because of what she considers the (in)ability of migrants to fully integrate into Swedish society and become 'Swedish.'

There are a lot of different people coming to Sweden. If you've grown up in a country that looks a lot like Sweden and we have almost the same rules and the same culture, it's quite easy to become a Swede if you learn the language and all that. But I think there's people from many places in the world that never can become Swedish, mainly because they never want to. They don't want to become part of the Swedish culture. And then I don't think

you can become a Swede. All the other politicians in Sweden say that you can become a Swede as long as you live in Sweden, but that's not my opinion.

Jessica's rhetoric indicates that she believes there is more to being Swedish than simply living in Sweden. Perhaps, if a migrant comes from a country culturally similar to Sweden, it is possible to become Swedish. Along this same point, she believes migrants from culturally different countries cannot become Swedish. The refugees currently arriving in Sweden, coming from areas that are significantly different culturally, will never be Swedish in Jessica's eyes. Jessica's frustration with immigration is heightened by other Swedish political parties' actions to silence SD and shut down conversations SD has around topics like immigration and refugees.

There is an arrangement between all the other parties in the Swedish government: they all vote for the same things. The Social Democrats, who are in charge, have made an arrangement with all the other parties so that they do not vote against them. It is only to stop us, SD, from having influence. So that's a big thing why people are coming to us now, because all the other parties, they just say the same things and vote for the same things, while we're the only one saying something different. Right now, that's probably the biggest reason. Right now, I think we have 2,000 immigrants to Sweden every day, and people see there's no room [for these immigrants]: there's no places to live, no work.

Jessica's political engagement is rooted in cultural nationalism and ethnic nationalism. While the refugee immigration to Sweden is undoubtedly a major issue for her, economic immigration is also problematic because of its unproven benefit.

## Chapter 5: Synthesis

The motivations for young Europeans to identify with contemporary radical nationalism vary widely. From the outset of this paper I asked, what motivates the nationalism of youth in Europe today? The findings of my interviews reflect that nationalism appeals to young people coming from a variety of backgrounds, and their nationalism and core beliefs varied according to their context.

As illustrated across Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden, nationalist ideologies play out in their own ways across uniquely different contexts. For example, Jobbik calls for a shift toward the East and uses rhetoric indicating more favorable sentiment toward the Islamic world. The favorable rhetoric and attitudes they express for Islam makes Jobbik distinctly different from supporters of Vlaams Belang and the Sweden Democrats. Further, multiculturalism, immigration, and the refugee crisis are important, but not as important for them as issues related to the Roma population and criminality. The views of Ágnes, Péter, and Szabolcs reflect Identitarian ideas, meaning that they believe in a world of cultural plurality and a right to difference for all people, no matter their religion, culture, or background.

By contrast, Tom Van Grieken and his party Vlaams Belang are not interested in the East and have no sympathy for the Islamic world. Tom is an outspoken and passionate critic of multiculturalism and Islam. In interviews, demonstrations, and on social media, he incessantly demands that Belgium close its borders, cease all forms of immigration, and remove all the refugees who have arrived there. Not only are these issues important to Tom, but he is also a Flemish nationalist, not a Belgian nationalist. He envisions an independent Flemish state. Separatism is a goal which does not exist for Jobbik. The issues that are important to Tom do not all resemble those that are important to Ágnes, Péter, and Szabolcs. While Ágnes, Péter, and Szabolcs can be considered Identitarian, Tom's rhetoric reflects cultural nationalism.

Gustav, William, and Jessica care about more similar issues to Tom than they do to the Hungarians. They also attack multiculturalism, immigration, and the refugee crisis as Tom does. They do support a right to difference and plurality of cultures across the world, suggesting that Muslims have their own right to practice Islam in Islamic countries. This rhetoric may appear favorable toward Islam, but they do not support any influence of Islam or of Muslims in Sweden.

Gustav, William, and Jessica's rhetoric toward Islam was less favorable than the Hungarians' was, and the three Swedes used rhetoric that more closely resembled Tom Van Grieken's regarding issues of multiculturalism, immigration, and the refugee crisis. Similar to Jobbik, they also have no separatist agenda as Vlaams Belang does. The cultural plurality and right to difference rhetoric indicates Identitarianism; but, Gustav, William, and Jessica also possess cultural nationalism. They are therefore a mix of both Identitarianism and cultural nationalism.

The interviewees' rhetoric illustrates the differences in nationalist beliefs across a variety of contexts from Belgium to Hungary to Sweden. While their rhetoric and views demonstrate the diversity in contemporary nationalism among young people, it is also clear that they hold certain similarities. For example, they all claim to be driven by feelings of patriotism and national love. However, the different ways in which this national love grew and developed varied across the interviewees. For example, Ágnes Pánczél and Gustav Kasselstrand both described the influence of learning about history and listening to certain music that played a role in inspiring feelings of love and pride in Hungary and Sweden, respectively. While the influence of history and music do not explain their political activism as nationalists, they do serve as sources from which feelings of national love and pride may stem.

Although Ágnes and Gustav described their appreciation for history and music, not all of the other interviewees cited these same factors. Others, such as Jessica Ohlson and her love for Sweden, seemed to feel innate national pride that they had experienced for most of their lives. For all of the interviewees, they described their personal identity in terms of their own nation and national culture. Their national identity is a component of their personal identity. By extension, they are proud of their national identity and therefore their personal identity, and they seek to preserve these identities against outside influence.

The interview subjects' desire to preserve their national identities against outside influence is an expression of their opposition to multiculturalism. Opposition to multiculturalism may simply be due to a drive to keep Sweden "Swedish" and Hungary "Hungarian," for example, but it may also reflect an aversion to outsider groups. An example of this can be seen from Péter Völgyi's rhetoric in which he describes some multiculturalism as good, and some multiculturalism as bad. For Péter, multiculturalism was good to the extent that it comprised individuals exchanging information and stories about their different cultures. In Hungary, multiculturalism is not so bad right now because there are not too many immigrants. But, multiculturalism became bad in places like France, Brussels, and Britain, according to Péter. It is bad in those places because he believes there are too many people from different places, from different cultures, who behave in ways that he deems strange.<sup>45</sup> Péter's story about good and bad multiculturalism illustrates how an opposition to multiculturalism is an expression of opposition to groups that are racially and culturally different. This aversion to "outsider" groups that live in the domestic borders of the interviewees' respective nations is a trend that may be true for many of the interview subjects.

Another similarity is that they believe their party of choosing is the only one discussing the taboo issues that no one else touches. With every individual I interviewed, they were drawn to their party because it was one that talked about issues no one else dared touch. They were dissatisfied with some aspect of their society, or several aspects. Whether in Belgium, Hungary, or Sweden, these youth found that Vlaams Belang, Jobbik, and the Sweden Democrats, respectively, opened discussions on topics that the mainstream, established political parties did not touch. For each of the interviewees, they felt they had finally found a party that aligned with

---

<sup>45</sup> Péter Völgyi, Interview, 8 November 2015.

their own personal ideas and views. While they felt they found a party that talked about issues they cared about, their anti-establishment rhetoric also became apparent. This rhetoric took different forms, such as by criticizing the political correctness of the mainstream media or established political parties, criticizing others of “going with the flow” and fearing to act outside of mainstream ideas, or dissatisfaction with the current system.

Anti-establishment rhetoric has an “us vs. them” effect, pitting the establishment against those outside the establishment. The “establishment” can be considered, generally speaking, the government, its policies, and institutions; mainstream political parties and politicians; mainstream media; and, all people who are a part of or working within this “system.” To disagree with the establishment would be to disagree with the status quo, to act against the mainstream ideas and behavior. They are comfortable identifying with a party that is looked at negatively by the mainstream and holding views that are considered too radical for some. The interviewees possess an anti-establishment, rebellious nature.

Work by Alexander Oaten describes anti-establishment rhetoric in terms of a collective victimhood argument.<sup>46</sup> Oaten illustrates how anti-establishment rhetoric, which is seen with the interviewees, plays to a narrative of victimization. As the interviewees describe an “us vs. them” narrative in terms of themselves against the establishment, they also describe themselves and their supporters as the true victims of the establishment. A feeling of collective victimhood against the establishment may encourage the interviewees and others like them to feel a sense of duty to fight against and criticize the establishment.

A final point about similarities across the interviewees is that they view themselves as part of a collective identity positioned against a certain ‘other,’ or outsider group. For all of the

---

<sup>46</sup> Oaten, 331, 339-340.

interviewees, one common group of outsiders is refugees. But, refugees are the only group that they mutually oppose.

In the case of Tom Van Grieken and Vlaams Belang, the population composing Flanders' collective identity is Flemish people. Aside from refugees, the outsiders are also French-speaking Walloons. The Walloons as an outsider group for Vlaams Belang distinguishes it from the cases in Hungary and Sweden. It also speaks to Vlaams Belang's movement to separate entirely from Wallonia and become their own independent country of Flanders.

For Jobbik supporters Ágnes, Péter, and Szabolcs in Hungary, the group making up their collective identity is Hungarian people. Refugees are one outsider group, but so is Hungary's Gypsy population and possibly Hungarian Jews as well. The Gypsy and Jewish populations in Hungary comprise an outsider group that is shared in neither Belgium nor Sweden.

Swedish people are the group that Gustav, William, and Jessica identify with. The group that they do not identify with is refugees in Sweden. Unlike with supporters from Vlaams Belang and Jobbik, refugees are the only 'other' group that they take issue with in Sweden.

In Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden, these outsider groups which are not part of what the interviewees perceive as their national collective identity pose problems. The interviewees' rhetoric demonstrates how they believe these groups are harmful to their respective nations, and how their parties can resolve these issues.

A final note to discuss is the seeming paradox of young people emphasizing traditional values. Young people are often thought to represent progressivism, while traditional ideas and values are reserved to older generations. Each of the individuals I interviewed encourage preserving traditional rituals and values in society. Most of the interviewees described tradition in relation to cultural rituals, values, and holidays that are practiced or celebrated in their nations.



One concrete example of tradition that was described by both Ágnes Pánczél and Péter Völgyi of Jobbik was the annual Hungarian celebration Busójárás in which people dress up in costumes to scare away winter at the end of Carnival season. For Ágnes and Péter, Busójárás is one example of a national tradition that they deem important to preserve.

But the question remains, why are youth drawn to traditionalism when they are expected to be more progressive? One explanation is that for them, traditionalism represents a counterweight to change. In the experiences that the interviewees discussed, things changed over time in a way that they perceive as bad. An example of this is Gustav Kasselstrand's story about his hometown Valdemarsvik. In Gustav's narrative, he describes his hometown and upbringing as "very Swedish" and with the influence of almost no immigrants. However, when he returns to Valdemarsvik now, he claims that it is "beyond recognition" because it is overrun by refugees.<sup>47</sup> The change that Gustav describes to have witnessed in his own hometown is not only a bad thing, but it is the result of mass immigration and refugees in Sweden. This experience reflects a resistance to change and a belief that things were better before than they are now. The interviewees' call for traditionalism may be their way of expressing how they believe things were better for them before than they are now. Returning to traditionalism, in their view, represents a return to how things were before.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

What motivates the radical nationalism of young Europeans today? In this paper, I discussed the differences across young Europeans by focusing on individual interview subjects. Across the interviewees, I derived a set of common themes, including dissatisfied, anti-

---

<sup>47</sup> Gustav Kasselstrand, Interview, 22 November 2015.

establishment rhetoric, a call for traditionalism and resistance to change, self-proclaimed love for the nation, aversion to outsider groups, and rhetoric which frames their national identity against a domestic ‘other’ group. Through this research, I delivered a humanized, individual account into what motivates the nationalism of young Europeans.

The information and insight gained through each interview helps broaden understanding and brought a more humanized aspect to nationalist youth in Europe. In this regard, I fulfilled one of my personal goals in this project. However, this research would be improved with a larger spread of individuals, both in terms of quantity and their political experience. In Belgium and Sweden, I focused on leaders. In Hungary, I had a slightly broader range, including both leaders and rank and file members. But in the case of all three countries, my work took on more of a personal, individual-level nature in looking at each of the individuals I interviewed, due to the small size of my interview pool. Future research on this subject should consider a wider range of interview subjects, and may either consider a wider range of countries or focus on one country to deliver a more focused analysis. The purpose and benefit of expanding the interview pool is to either reinforce the themes I found, or to challenge and possibly reject these themes.

Although there were drawbacks and limitations to the research, this work brings forward individual-level insight into what draws young European people toward nationalism. Not only does the research reveal motivations for nationalism, it also demonstrates the differences across various contexts of nationalist views. Aside from opposing refugee migration, there is no common nationalist ideology across European nations. Nationalist views, whether it is Vlaams Belang in Belgium, Jobbik in Hungary, or the Sweden Democrats in Sweden, differ across different countries and contexts. While my interview subject pool was small, these individuals illustrated the differences in their ideologies across various contexts.

The research demonstrates the differences in contemporary nationalism across European contexts. The differences that arise include their attitudes toward Islam, attitudes toward particular minority groups or ‘outsider’ groups, and differences in Identitarian or cultural nationalist ideologies. Aside from the differences that arise among nationalists, the research contributes an understanding of the similarities that exist. Observed similarities in the interviewees include their feelings of self-proclaimed national love, anti-establishment and rebellious nature, aversion to outsider groups, a call for traditionalism and resistance to change, and rhetoric which frames their national identity against a domestic ‘other’ group.

By utilizing personal interviews with young nationalists from Belgium, Hungary, and Sweden, I have provided a humanized, individual-level insight into understanding the differences in nationalism across a sample of European countries while simultaneously identifying similarities among them. Future research on this subject should consider a larger number yet possibly more specific pool of interview subjects. By increasing the number of interviewees while narrowing the parameters such as by interviewee age, country of origin, or level of leadership in the party, further research may be able to determine whether the differences and similarities I found still hold true and if there are more differences and similarities to consider.

## Bibliography

- “Austria, Finland and Sweden: 20 Years in the EU.” 2015. Flash Eurobarometer 407. European Commission Report.
- De Benoist, Alain and Charles Champetier. 1999. “Manifesto of the French New Right in Year 2000.” New European Conservative.

- Eger, M. A. 2010. "Even in Sweden: The Effect of Immigration on Support for Welfare State Spending." *European Sociological Review* 26, (2): 203-217.
- Erk, Jan. 2005. "From Vlaams Blok to Vlaams Belang: The Belgian Far-Right Renames Itself." *West European Politics* 28, (3): 493-502.
- Faas, Daniel. 2007. "Youth, Europe and the Nation: The Political Knowledge, Interests and Identities of the New Generation of European Youth." *Journal of Youth Studies* 10 (2): 161-81.
- Fülöp, Márta and Alistair Ross. 2005. "Growing Up in Europe Today: Developing Identities Among Adolescents." *European Issues in Children's Identities and Citizenship*, Vol. 6. Trentham.
- France, Alan, Jo Meredith, and Adriana Sandu. 2007. Youth Culture and Citizenship in Multicultural Britain. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 15 (3): 303-16.
- "Future of Europe." 2014. Special Eurobarometer 413. European Commission Report.
- Hazekamp, Jan Laurens and Keith Popple. 1997. *Racism in Europe: A Challenge for Youth Policy and Youth Work*. University College.
- Hellström, Anders, Tom Nilsson, Faculty of Culture and Society, and Malmö University. 2010. *'We are the Good Guys': Ideological Positioning of the Nationalist Party Sverigedemokraterna in Contemporary Swedish Politics*. *Ethnicities* 10 (1): 55-76.
- Hellström, Anders, Tom Nilsson, and Pauline Stoltz. 2012. *Nationalism vs. Nationalism: The Challenge of the Sweden Democrats in the Swedish Public Debate*. *Government and Opposition* 47 (2): 186-205.
- Hoskins, Bryony, Michaela Saisana, and Cynthia M. H. Villalba. 2015. Civic Competence of

- Youth in Europe: Measuring Cross National Variation through the Creation of a Composite Indicator. *Social Indicators Research* 123 (2): 431-57.
- Jobbik. 2015. "Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary." Accessed 21 September 2015. <http://www.jobbik.com/>.
- Loader, Brian D. 2007. *Young Citizens in the Digital Age: Political Engagement, Young People and New Media*. Routledge.
- Loobuyck, Patrick, and Dirk Jacobs. 2009. "Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Integration Policy in Belgium and Flanders." *Canadian Issues*: S29.
- "L'Opinion Publique dans l'Union Européenne." 2014. Eurobaromètre Standard 82. Rapport par la Commission Européenne.
- Mayda, Anna Maria. 2006. "Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-country Investigation of Individual Attitudes Toward Immigrants". *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 88 (3). The MIT Press: 510–30.
- Mulinari, Diana, Anders Neergaard, Linköpings Universitet, REMESO - Institutet för Forskning om Migration, Etnicitet och Samhälle, and Filosofiska fakulteten. 2014. *We are Sweden Democrats because we care for others: Exploring Racisms in the Swedish Extreme Right*. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 21 (1): 43-56.
- Moufahim, Mona, Patrick Reedy, and Michael Humphreys. 2015. The Vlaams Belang: The Rhetoric of Organizational Identity. *Organization Studies* 36 (1): 91-111.
- Oaten, Alexander. "The Cult of the Victim: An Analysis of the Collective Identity of the English Defence League." *Patterns of Prejudice* 48.4 (2014): 331-49. Web.
- Oskarson, Maria and Marie Demker. 2015. "Room for Realignment: The Working-Class Sympathy for Sweden Democrats." *Government and Opposition*, 50: 629-651.

- Petsinis, Vassilis. 2015. *The 'New' Far Right in Hungary: A Political Psychologist's Perspective*. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 23, Iss. 2.
- Pirro, Andrea L. P. 2015. "The Populist Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe: Ideology, Impact, and Electoral Performance." Vol. 27. London: Routledge.
- Rydgren, Jens. 2010. "Radical Right-Wing Populism in Denmark and Sweden: Explaining Party System Change and Stability." *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 30 (1): 57-71.
- Samad, Yunas and Kasturi Sen. 2007. "Islam in the European Union: Transnationalism, Youth and the War on Terror." Oxford University Press. New York.
- Scheepers, P. L. H., H. A. F. H. Werts, and M. Lubbers. 2013. "Euro-scepticism and Radical Right-wing Voting in Europe, 2002-2008: Social Cleavages, Socio-political Attitudes and Contextual Characteristics Determining Voting for the Radical Right." *European Union Politics* 14, (2): 183-205.
- Sedgwick, Mark. 2004. *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*. Oxford University Press. USA.
- Skott-Myhre, Hans Arthur. 2009. "Youth and Subculture as Creative Force: Creating New Spaces for Radical Youth Work." University of Toronto Press.
- Sverigedemokraterna. 2014. "Sverigedemokraterna - Det Sverigevänliga Partiet." Accessed 18 September 2015. <http://sverigedemokraterna.se/>
- Sverigedemokratisk Ungdom. 2015. "SDU: Sverigedemokratisk Ungdom." Accessed 20 September 2015. <http://www.sverigedemokratiskungdom.se/>
- Teitelbaum, Benjamin R. 2013. "Come Hear our Merry Song": Shifts in the Sound of Contemporary Swedish Radical Nationalism. Ph.D. Dissertation, Brown University.
- Teitelbaum, Benjamin R. (forthcoming) *Lions of the North: Sounds of the New Nordic Radical*

*Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

van den Berg, Job C, and Hilde Coffe. 2012. "Educational and Class Cleavages in Voting Behaviour in Belgium: The Effect of Income, EGP Class and Education on Party Choice in Flanders and Wallonia." *Acta Politica* 47 (2): 151-80.

Widfeldt, Anders. 2008. "Party Change as a Necessity - the Case of the Sweden Democrats." *Representation* 44 (3): 265-76.

YouTube. 2014. "SDU: Salute to the European Youth." Sverigedemokratisk Ungdom. Accessed 18 September 2015. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VR-lAGj\\_dIQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VR-lAGj_dIQ).